UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

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Francis Neilson | Louis L. Mann | Curtis W. Reese

A Philosophy of Life

By JESSE H. HOLMES

Wanted! A New Alignment in American Politics

By HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS

E. Merrill Root: A New American Poet

By RUDOLPH GILBERT

The Boston Community Church at Ten Years

By GERTRUDE L. WINSLOW

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CIV. MONDAY, JANUARY 27, 1930 NUMBER 19

A PREMIER ON PROHIBITION

"They tell us that we cannot be made sober by Act of Parliament. I hate these little smug, pettifogging and inaccurate pieces of proverbial philosophy. They are thrown off by men who cannot think, and they are believed in by fools. I say that every experience that the world has had, and I do not care where you go for it—go north, go south, go east, go west; keep within your Empire or go outside; confine your attention to the Anglo-Saxon race or go outside it and take the Slavs—go anywhere where experiments may have been made and the conclusion is absolutely inevitable and irresistible, that you *can* make men and women sober by Act of Parliament."

—J. Ramsay MacDonald.

We doubt if any proposal for the ending of war could accomplish more to this end than the proposal to make illegal, and thus of none effect, all territorial annexations and acquisitions obtained by war. This is the first of the "sanctions of peace" laid down by Mr. S. O. Levinson in his *Christian Century* article of December 25th last, already referred to in these columns. This proposal, as Mr. Levinson himself points out, is not new. In a "Plan to Outlaw War," formulated jointly by Mr. Levinson and the late Senator Knox in 1921, the idea appeared in a suggested provision of international law, as follows:

> All annexations, exactions, or seizures by force, duress or fraud shall be null and void.

In formal proposals for the codification of Pan-American international law, submitted by the Institute of American International Law to the governing board of the American Union in 1925, the same idea appeared, as follows:

> In the future territorial acquisitions obtained by means of war or under the menace of war or in presence of an armed force, to the detriment of any American republic, shall not be lawful; and that
>
> Consequently territorial acquisitions effected in the future by these means can not be invoked as conferring title; and that
>
> Those obtained in the future by such means shall be considered null in fact and in law.

Now Mr. Levinson incorporates this proposal as the first item in his "sanctions of peace" (see UNITY, January 13th). Speaking of this idea, he says:

> If it is unlawful to wage war, conquests by war should furnish no legal title. Here is a real sanction, real security—the protection of law. Never again can a nation bent upon conquest acquire indefeasible title to anything. Moreover, the greatest value attaches to this proposal because it blots out once and for all the subtle and abused distinction between aggressive war and defensive war. It would make the exercise of self-defense genuinely defensive; the use of force would have to stop when its claimed objective of self-defense had been attained. In short, hereafter no title shall pass by any kind of war except the title of a pirate.

The cogency of this proposal, especially as bearing on this difficult question of aggressive and defensive war, shows how important is the recodification of international law as a completion of the work begun by the Peace Pact. The proposal, says Mr. Levinson, "is practically a corollary of the Pact itself." It is indeed. Write it into law!

The London Naval Conference will be in session when this editorial is read, and already perhaps our readers will know whether signs are fair or foul. At the present writing, while the American delegates are speeding across the Atlantic Ocean, everything looks propitious. The Conference has been carefully planned, Britain and the United States are pledged to joint action, and public opinion in all countries is aroused. It is impossible to see how, under present circumstances, the gathering can fail. For here is the test as to whether the nations really mean peace. More particularly is it the test as to whether the five great powers take with any seriousness the solemn promises of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty. These promises cannot be left merely as "a scrap of paper." The nations cannot renounce war and still continue to bear arms in defense against one another's possible aggression. Deeds must follow words; in this case disarmament must follow "renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy." Personally we do not fear that nothing will be done. Rather do we fear that nothing of any substantial importance will be done. It would be dramatic to scrap battleships, and the saving to the budgets of the several nations, if this were done, would ease an almost intolerable financial burden. But battleships are hopelessly outmoded, and, so far as war is concerned, it makes no difference whether fleets of these monstrous vessels are kept intact or not. What really matters is cruisers, submarines, aeroplanes, and poisonous gases. What will the Conference do with these thoroughly up-to-date and infinitely terrible instruments of modern combat? For ourselves, we had rather see the Conference fail utterly, than foist upon the world such a gold brick as was handed out by the late Washington Conference in President Harding's administration. The distance between Harding and Hoover is the measure of our hope for the London meeting.

We saw recently an attractive picture advertising reading for children. In the foreground of the picture was a boy with an open book. His face was lifted as though in rapture, and in his eyes was the far-away look of dreams and visions. In the background of the picture was a group of shadowy figures—undoubtedly the heroes whom the boy was seeing in his heart. Here were an Indian chief adorned with all his feathers and war-paint, a brigand of the Robin Hood variety, a pirate gloating over a chest of gold, and a soldier. These figures were all figures of adventure — they stirred the mind of the boy with thoughts of courage, romance, and the wild daring of primitive life. It is natural that the boy, himself a primitive, should revel in the deeds of heroes of this kind. But in actual life, and with older persons concerned with serious affairs, the case is different. The "noble redman" is a romantic figure in the tales of James Fenimore Cooper, but in the development of this country he proved to be an untamed savage who had to be banished beyond the frontiers of civilized existence. Robin Hood is an ever-popular character of juvenile fiction, but highwaymen of this variety cannot be tolerated in society, and thus are outlawed from the company of all good men. The pirate is endlessly fascinating—in a book! But civilization made war upon him, and banished him from the seas a century ago. Of all these legendary figures only the soldier still remains among us in honor and repute. But his time has now come! He also is a nuisance and a menace, and is in process this day of being condemned and gotten rid of. The artist of our picture was a better prophet than he realized. Not only in a boy's mind which loves lawless adventure and violence, but also in the life of ordered society which must have security and peace, a soldier is properly classified with savages, highway robbers, and pirates. And for this reason will he sooner or later go the way of these outlaws who have preceded him.

The preliminary report of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement did one thing of vast importance. It classified Prohibition not as an isolated and unique problem, existing all by itself as an exception to all rule, but as simply one instance among many of the persistent lawlessness of the American people. What we do not seem to recognize, what we are not allowed to recognize in this country is that Prohibition is running true to form. We are violating the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act not because we hate these laws particularly, but because we violate all law, these therefore among the rest. There is furious talk about Prohibition because there are certain selfish groups in the country who see to it, for their own advantage, that there shall be such talk. We are the victims today, in other words, of a propaganda about Prohibition enormities, just as we were the victims during the War of a propaganda about German atrocities. The so-called murder of rum-runners by the Coast guard is played up in the newspapers, just as the Belgian children with hands chopped off, the crucified Canadian sentry, and the German "corpse factory" were played up in the same newspapers in 1915-1916. And so we are taught to believe that the violations of the Prohibition law are altogether exceptional, whereas they are the most commonplace thing in the world! It is this which Mr. Wickersham's Commission makes plain in their preliminary report. "A preliminary examination demonstrated," the Chairman writes, "that the criminal law enforcement machinery of the country is entirely inadequate." But is this the result of Prohibition? Only as Prohibition is *one of many factors* at work in the situation! "Prohibition, automobile theft, white slave traffic, immigration *and other criminal laws of the Federal Government,*" says the report, "have overtaxed the capacity and effectiveness of the national machinery for enforcement." Prohibition is only one phase of a general problem of "criminal law" in this country. The Wickersham Commission has done well to make this plain at the outset.

It gave stability and peace, but checked progress and denied freedom.

It is thus that George Macauley Trevelyan refers to the English "manorial system" of the Middle Ages in his "History of England." This system, he points out, had the support of all the respectable and influential people of the time, from the king down to the most obscure knight. All the leading citizens lived that way, and sought to continue to live that way as a condition of preserving law and order. The fact that this social system, as thus organized and maintained, made progress of state and freedom of individuals impossible, was not regarded as important. Just as similar facts are not regarded as important by the same people today! Take any dominant class in society in any age, and it will be found that their one prime interest is in the maintenance of "stability and peace." What if these twin boons are won at the expense of "progress" and "freedom"? This makes no difference to the man on top. Look at the Tories in England, as they face the rising tide of industrial democracy! All progress must be denied, all freedom destroyed, that law and order may be not disturbed. Look at Mussolini in Italy! A whole nation subjected to military enslavement, that the existing social system may not be shaken. Look at Boston in the days of the Sacco-Vanzetti excitement! A reign of terror instituted—every liberty of the subject outraged—constitutions and bills of rights and common law torn into "scraps of paper"—all that the peace of this worthless community might not be ruffled. "Stability and peace," "law and order"—these are so many shibboleths, for the sake of which every higher

interest of man has been profaned. This is the reason, is it not, why liberty is preserved only at the price of eternal vigilance, and progress achieved only by perpetual martyrdom? We are no friend to anarchy, but we profoundly believe that society should ever be "troubled," as the waters of the scriptural pool were "troubled," that there may be healing for human ills.

Our editorial on the Dakin biography of Mrs. Eddy, in the December 30th issue of UNITY, has quickly gotten us into trouble. Two subscriptions were immediately cancelled, and we would not be surprised if other cancellations were on the way. The complaint registered is that we were wrong and unfair in attacking the Christian Scientists for attacking Dakin's book. Why should not the Christian Scientists, we are asked, do all in their power to answer "the lies" which Mr. Dakin is spreading abroad? A question which misses the point of our editorial altogether! If Mr. Dakin's story of Mrs. Eddy is false, it certainly should be exposed and denounced. Its assertions should be answered in the newspapers, its "lies" should be nailed by the publication of verified evidence to the contrary, the real facts should be gathered together and broadcast. There are a hundred things the Christian Scientists might legitimately and honorably do to counteract the influence of this new biography. But no one of these things are they doing. On the contrary, they are doing the one thing which is illegitimate and dishonorable—they are undertaking by threats and conspiracies and other dastardly weapons of cowardice to suppress the book. They are not answering it at all, but are trying rather to destroy it, as though it were so true it could not be answered. They are attempting to do to this biography, in other words, exactly what these two subscribers have attempted to do to us. Not to prove us mistaken, not to present evidence to establish our error, not to offer arguments to refute our opinions! They know that these columns are wide open to anything they may want to say to expose our editorial delinquency. But they do not ask to be heard. No! They cancel within an hour their subscriptions, and thus do what they can to suppress and destroy this paper. We thank our friends for proving by their action that what we said in our editorial is just exactly one hundred per cent right.

A Philosophy of Life

Our generation is suffering for an intelligent philosophy of life; that is, for a rational formulation of man's relation to his world, and of the ends or values to which his life should be directed. Without such a philosophy religion, science, politics and all the institutions associated with them are necessarily at loose ends, lacking any directive purpose, any standard of measurement by which success or failure may be determined. Without it religion degenerates into mere formalism, science falls apart into a mass of incoherent facts, statesmanship becomes opportunism dealing with, temporary and local ends only. Such a philosophy is needed as a kind of supreme court, interpreting and vitalizing the problems and intricacies of our daily living.

Christianity had a philosophy of life in the mediæval period when it was establishing its institutions, and stiffening its attempts at formulating the truth into formulas and creeds. This philosophy once plastic and developing, but long ago hardened and dead, is still professed but is not believed nor used as an element of actual life by the Christian church machine of our time. It presents an arbitrary and irrational deity of the imperial type, who has created the world as a stage for the human drama with the rest of the cosmos as stage settings. He has placed his helpless human puppets in it for no discoverable reason unless it be for his own amusement (or "glory"), and after they have been put through their mechanical paces, he throws most of them into his cosmic incinerator, keeping a few samples chosen apparently by pure caprice, — certainly for no merit or value of their own. The church is an essential, or important, part of the mechanism of this capricious choice, and the career of Jesus is awkwardly and irrationally forced into the scheme.

The discoveries of Copernicus, Galileo and Newton reduced this imposing structure to a geographical and cosmic absurdity and the scientific progress of the recent past has made the whole scheme more and more incongruous with the present day world view. But the church has been wholly incapable of readjusting and remaking its philosophy to suit the growing intelligent and accumulating knowledge of the world we live in. It committed itself long ago to a theory of its own infallibility, and so estopped any process of correction; for how shall the infallible make mistakes and need correction? It has had and still has, leaders of vision and courage; but these are discredited by the church as a whole and have usually showed a discouraging willingness to compromise on some shibboleth of "unity" or "harmony."

The "liberal" churches have done little to remedy this situation. They have dealt very largely in mere criticism, or in small and partial systems lacking the great ends and the enthusiasm which great ends arouse. They have supplied nothing as compelling as a hell to dodge and a heaven to win. We inhabit a speck of dust flying round and round a pebble in space: how

shall we find meaning and value in such a life in such a world? We are oppressed by our linear and cubic pettiness, and it doesn't help much to realize that we are as large viewed from atoms and electrons as we are small from systems and galaxies. Can we—even we Americans—eliminate mere size as the prime basis of importance? I believe it is necessary to intrude other standards and other interests, and one finds comfort and support from the mathematicians and physicists who are working out a philosophy of relativity. But we cannot wait for them. After all our world is big enough for us, and a philosophy of local life on our home-earth might supply the unity and interest which we lack. We may remark that if the cosmos is very big most of it is empty, while our world is very full of a number of things.

Nothing is more deep-seated in our convictions than the sense of the value of our human lives; and that not as isolated beings but as "members of one another"—of a general human society. From our earliest maturity there appears and grows in us an intuition far deeper than knowledge, that we are working out for ourselves and for humanity, a problem of creation. We are unsatisfied with wealth and comfort; we are ashamed to be shielded and supported without our own efforts; we are uncontent with a social system which breaks up the human family into castes, cliques and classes. While we are at times narrow and selfish, this small and petty self often broadens and rises showing us that the narrow and temporary self has constant relations with a greater and nobler self, the which from time to time we strive to be.

Now I propose that we have here all the essentials of a religion worthy of life and death. Here is the great purpose of human welfare: not a mythical, unprovable, incalculable life after death but living, breathing, palpitating life on earth!—and curiously enough we find on reflection that it is no other than that of the prophets and teachers of all ages and peoples; it is the "kingdom of God," the "City of the Sun," the "Republic," "Utopia," the "dream of John Ball," the "more perfect Union," dreamed of and longed for by great leaders of every age and time. Even the Christian heaven was the same thing ill-conceived and banished from earth. An ennobled and glorified humanity, freed from disease and terror, from want and suffering, from slavery and war, from hatred, selfishness and crime! Surely this is a vastly more worthy and reasonable aim than the dull and boresome heaven of medieval Christianity—and cannot we find God in spirit and in truth in that very longing for unity and for humanity which continually breaks up our camps of ease and sets us on the march? That larger and nobler self which is so close to our narrow and petty selves is much more real and more serviceable than the remote diety surrounded by cherubim and seraphim. It has the immense advantage too that it is a fact of experience rather than a bit of doubtful information from remote and uncertain sources. Of course it is not necessary to use the word God. When one is dealing with realities names are merely matters of convenience, whereas with historic and infallible creeds they are essentials. If anyone feels that the word God has been misused and rendered meaningless he is certainly free to use another word. "Our chief imperative" is a phase which covers the facts and involves a minimum of theory; for we know that to obey is to develop and to disobey is to deteriorate.

If however we are dealing with realities we will not stop to dispute about phrases, or about abstractions. Here is a purpose fitted to arouse our highest enthusiasm and to develop our noblest powers; here is a recognizable element of life and conduct which will bind us into a unity. Is it possible for our generation—or the next—or any—to rise to a contempt of the struggle for accumulation, for acquisition, and to dedicate itself to the creation of a really noble mankind, ready to make any social or political changes, ready to accept any transformations of human society to further its end? Surely the ancient king-gods, the heavens and hells, rites, ceremonies, sacrifices and the like fall away into the limbo of race-childishness where they belong; and man takes on a new dignity as a creator about his task of creation. These things are possible. Nothing blocks our way to realizing them but our own narrowness and cowardice, our own selfishness and conservatism.

JESSE H. HOLMES.

Jottings

Six thousand Italian prisoners were released on the occasion of the recent marriage between the Crown Prince of Italy and the Princess Marie Josè of Belgium. It's a pity we haven't a prince and a princess to get married in this country—say, the Crown Prince of Arizona to the Princess Elizabeth of New Hampshire. This might well be the solution of our prison problem.

It encourages us to know that J. Ramsay MacDonald is well-read in history. He therefore must be familiar with the story of Lord North and the American colonies in 1775. This should help him in his present problem of policy in India.

"If she's French, she's bad," says a character in

Mrs. Fiske's new play, "Ladies of the Jury," now on exhibition in New York. "If it's French, it's good," say the ladies in their perennial following of the dictates of fashion. The one remark, we would say, is as true as the other. Which is saying very little!

On December 18th last, New York City reported a record number of traffic violations—679 cases in a single day. Three magistrates sat for hours in crowded court rooms, hearing evidence and assessing fines. It is obvious that such a situation is impossible. Following the logic of the "wets," we urge that all traffic laws be repealed as unenforceable, and autoists left free to drive any way they please!

The recent Automobile Show in New York was enlivened by the announcement that every family should have three cars. This profound sociological observation was presented by a manufacturer. Curious how impersonal, objective, disinterested, some men can be!

Once every year we announce in this place the lynching record for the past twelve months. The record for 1929 is encouraging—10 dead, as compared with 11 in 1928, 16 in 1927, and 19 in 1926. The decrease steadily continues. Perhaps it will continue even faster this year when it is noted that, of the 10 victims lynched in 1929, 3 were white!

J. H. H.

Wanted: A New Alignment in American Politics

The greatest need of our nation politically is critical constructive opposition. Progress is always made by the conflict of ideas. When history and human experience strike fire you have reality. Wherever you have censorship, intolerance, and the iniquisition spirit you get atrophy. Today in the United States there is no vital political party of opposition. The Democrats in the election of 1928 revealed the fact that they have not one fundamental economic issue that distinguishes them from the Republicans. There never have been great differences between them, but with the Democratic abandonment of a low tariff policy, all distinctions have virtually faded away. Both parties have become the political expressions of the great business organizations. These latter finance both parties, with one executive of a corporation contributing to and leading in one party, and often another executive of the same corporation leading in and contributing to the other party, and so it makes no difference whether the elephant wins or the donkey, the great business institutions win and control. Of course, it costs them large sums to stage the big spectacle every four years, but it must be worth it to them or they would not pay the bills.

One finds no serious fault with the presence of a conservative party. The Republican party in power is conservative, and we need such a party. Of course, at times she brings disgrace on all of us with her oily skirts and her little black bags. But then that is what certain folks are in politics for. Corruption and graft are the results of lack of clean-cut opposition that when it is present, keeps an organization so busy doing its job that its members do not have the time nor the inclination to betray the public trust. However, as at present constituted the Democratic party is also a conservative institution. It is merely an imitation of the same thing and we do not need them both. What we demand is not a third party but a real second party, one of critical opposition to the Republican party at every step of the way. Republican leaders need to know that no question is settled until it is settled right, that nothing can be hidden that will not be brought to light, that the last man has a right to be heard and that government ought primarily to be interested not in the few but in the masses of the people.

To capture the Democratic party and create of it an instrument of opposition is an impossible venture. Anyone who has attended one national convention of either party realizes that there is no possibility of securing the national organization of either for progressivism. If the Democratic party in the last election, with personally the most attractive candidate which it is likely to nominate, could carry only eight states, there is little hope that it can ever be transformed into an effective instrument for progressive politics. The "Solid South" and the "Tammany Halls" of the North which make up the party are fundamentally hostile in their points of view and neither of them has any real interest in progressive principles. Their control of the organization is such that they can prevent economic liberals from ever capturing it.

Our present method as progressives of forming blocs that cut across both parties furnishes no adequate relief. With reactionaries in control of the machinery in most states it is most difficult for liberals to be nominated and elected and, even then, voters with the same fundamental views will be fighting in opposite camps at the time of national elections, being Republicans in some states and Democrats in others. Their influence and votes largely cancel each other. It is after all a negative policy. Such a program of working inside the old parties has no appeal to the mass of progressive voters and fails to create a spirit of solidarity and enthusiasm. The results are fugitive and sterile.

The solution rests in a new political alignment, whereby economic liberals will leave the old parties as the expression of conservatism and will unite to build up a new party of opposition based on the theory of increasing democratic control. Such a party could not advocate *laissez-faire* in a country where, despite the so-called prosperity, the earnings of two-thirds of the urban unskilled workers are seemingly insufficient to support their dependents upon the standard laid down by relief societies, and whereby one-third of our people who reach the age of sixty-five are dependent in whole or in part on charity because they have abso-

lutely no property to help maintain them. Such a party would realize that an increasing degree of social control over economic life is necessary in order to give to individuals an opportunity for development in a country where surplus income, wealth, and consequently power, are concentrated in so relatively few hands. Socially minded citizens would, I believe, increasingly rally around a party faithful to this central principle. Upon what issues would such a party offer vital opposition to the present regime?

In contrast to the old parties with their rugged individualism this new opposition party in the field of public utilities would battle for public ownership in establishing responsible operation along with a wider sharing of savings. Of course such a party would oppose turning over Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam to private hands and would seek public control of the generation, transmission and distribution of power, insuring to the consumers and to industry the economies and comforts of an integrated super-power system, which otherwise will fall into private hands. It would seek to organize the coal industry under democratic management with a view to closing down the surplus mines, transferring without hardship the excess workers, integrating the coal mines with the development of power and giving greater freedom in their working lives to the miners.

And the problem is one of more equal distribution of the immense wealth which this country possesses. Our system which permits some to have so much more than they need, and often without working for it, means that others cannot have enough to provide the actual needs of life. So you have the slums of America, among the most terrible of any civilized nation. The remedy is to be accomplished through legislation, by means of skimming off, through high progressive taxes on incomes, inheritances and the increase in land values, of those surplus gains which are not necessary to induce effective service to be forthcoming and which are the result of monoply, and the reception of which largely causes the maintenance and growth of inequality. These sums could be used to help democratize industry and to provide for the poor that minimum of health and recreation which can never be secured through economic organization alone, nor by adherence to one of the major parties. The men who would be thus taxed control both the Republican and Democratic organizations and would sabotage such legislation. Only independent political action can produce for the workers these opportunities which will come through greater equalization of incomes.

Labor ought to be protected by social insurance from the hazards of accident, ill health, unemployment and old age. Unemployment is one of the outstanding problems of the United States today. Time-saving devices and the stretch-out system which speeds up the machinery and compels the worker to keep up as well as oversee more machines, are throwing thousands out of work. This capitalistic scheme produces more accidents and disease and now scraps the worker at forty-five years of age. The bosses are not going to protest against these evils. They must help pay the cost and will never do it, speaking generally, until forced to do so by legislation. The leaders of the old parties will not fight for the enactment of these laws because the Republican and Democratic parties are merely the political expressions of the great business organizations. These latter do not intend to help pay the bills for social insurance and will fight to the death, through the political organizations which they control, every effort seeking such an accomplishment. If we want social insurance, we must help to build up a new party.

The workers also find themselves today under legal restrictions which, in the form of "yellow dog" contracts, injunctions, the use of militia and United States marshals, virtually prohibit boycotting and effective peaceful picketing, rendering trade unionism ineffective. America needs a party in control of government that will not use soldiers to shoot the workers down, but will protect them in their right to collective bargaining.

Senator Borah could tell you, if he would, how the farmers need a party to protect them from the tariff hounds. A new party would fight for a program of farm relief which, by lowering the tariff on manufactured goods, would help to readjust the present disparity between the prices of agricultural and manufactured commodities by decreasing the prices of the goods the farmers buy; and which by building up a greater foreign market would increase the prices of what he sells. The provision of adequate farm credits and insurance against natural calamities would also be of great assistance. Especially should the government foster both producers' and consumers' cooperative societies and cooperatively managed wheat and cotton pools. No effective farm relief is conceivable, however, until the farmer ceases to be the football of old-party politics.

An opposition party would stand for a tariff for revenue only as an aid to the soundest prosperity and international goodwill, and for the purpose of reducing special privilege, political corruption, and exploitation by favored interests.

The restoration of political rights to Negroes and foreign-born citizens in those sections where, either by law or by custom they are now disfranchised would be another aim of such a liberal party. So long as a million voters of the Northwest, for example, can send only twelve representatives to Congress while a million voters of the South can send nearly four times that number, the most elementary basis for democratic government is unattainable.

Finally, the people must be insured against another world war. The great economic leaders led us into the last war to protect their interests. They are the ones who are using our marines today in Nacaragua and the Caribbean. It is their struggle for business advantage that makes a future war possible. Their agents in political power will respond to their desires. If the people are to be protected fully from the dangers of another world war, then they must control the political machinery that finally declares war. That means a new political party in this country that will not countenance war as a means for the settlement of disputes, that will make a sincere and determined effort to eliminate the economic, psychological and political causes of war; the substitution of conference, conciliation, arbitration and judicial processes for our present policy of domination in Central America and the Caribbean; the fulfillment of our pledge of independence for the Philippines; drastic reduction of war debts, as sound financial and international policy; uncompromising resistance to all attempts at the militari-

zation of American public opinion, such as compulsory military training of our youth and the propaganda for large military and naval preparedness; cooperation with other countries in creating an adequate structure of international organization, in outlawing war and in securing disarmament on sea and land and in the air; and participation in all agencies helping to keep the peace and remove the occasions of war.

Hundreds of men and women over the United States, led by Dr. John Dewey of Columbia University, are uniting through The League for Independent Political Action, to help form such a new political party in this country. The League does not intend itself to become the new party but rather to act as a liaison instrument to bring together all those groups which ought to unite in the formation of such a third party. For example, the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota in six years has elected two United States Senators, three Congressmen, and has approximately one-third of the members of each house of the legislature affiliated with the party. It constitutes the party of opposition in that state, and the Democrats have practically faded out of the picture. Naturally, therefore, the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota must be counted on to assist in forming a new national party. In other places like Milwaukee and Reading the Socialists have been in power, giving very effective administrations. It is hoped that the Socialists would unite with other groups to help form this party of opposition. It will be a mass organization of workers and farmers' groups and all who can no longer be satisfied with old-party policies, and so will exclude all exploiting interests and groups.

The League for Independent Political Action has recently been organized* with a national committee of 100 to encourage the formation of an independent political party movement distinguished from the Democratic and Republican parties, and based on the theory of increasing democratic control. Progressive elements of the labor movement, the agricultural bloc, the socialist movement, from the professional group, the liberal newspaper field and the religious groups have met in a number of conferences to perfect the organization.

Dr. John Dewey of Columbia University has just been elected chairman of the National Committee, and vice-chairmen are: James Maurer of Pennsylvania, Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, and W. E. B. DuBois of New York. Devere Allen, editor of the *World Tomorrow,* is Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Howard Y. Williams, who has been connected with the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota, is executive secretary.

The League will act as a clearing house for gathering information concerning all agencies seeking a political realignment, emphasize research work, carry on an educational campaign, and organize local political movements all over the United States. The aim is to begin at the bottom and in strategic situations to cooperate with local groups in building up disciplined movements of the people centering first on municipal and congressional campaigns. The organization will send a battery of nationally known speakers to assist in the election of such candidates.

The executive secretary will travel over the United States organizing, stimulating and cooperating with local third party political movements that will eventually unite to create a new national party. The establishment of such a party can be accomplished only in spite of heavy odds. The division of our country into forty-eight states, the independence of the executive, the powers of the judiciary, the lack of a responsible cabinet, the temptation which direct primaries give for excursions into the old parties—these are obstacles which do not exist in Europe. On the principles outlined, with persistent effort on the part of awakened workers, farmers, and progressives who must constitute the backbone of such a movement an effective party can be built. There could be no more practical and creative force in American politics than such an achievement.

HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS.

*Headquarters are at 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

E. Merrill Root: A New American Poet

The awful thing is that beauty is mysterious as well as terrible. God and the devil are fighting there and the battle-field is the heart of man.

So wrote Dostoevsky; and

> Calvary is a continent
> Today. America
> Is but a vast and terrible
> New Golgotha

is a truth uttered by an American poet, E. Merrill Root.

Very few have heard or care to hear this voice of a St. John crying in the vast desert of our cities. It offends some people to hear intensely-felt suffering and the hidden agonies of a soul which rebels and yet endures life as a painful but great realization of spiritual growth.

Root, of all living American poets, is essentially Medieval by temperament: society and its narrowly-measured conventions and convictions mean nothing to him. He does not seek experiences in society, but beyond it—*in the universe.* He trusts his instincts with the simplicity and truthfulness of a St. Francis; he sees only the bright Sirius of his conviction, and the rest is darkness. Like Thoreau, he will never sell his birth-right for society's "mess of potage."

Root knows the birth-agony of all things human and divine; he has the inner tragic outlook on life of a Tolstoy, a Unamuno, or a Hardy. Root is striving to give birth to a soul in America, even if he has to drive his plough single-handed in the still lingering darkness of a living but slumbering reality; inwardly he feels that even

> The grain of corn within the earth
> Knows well the agony of birth.

Root has a way of life, a spirit, a joy and message, that are much needed in American life at present. Contentment here seems to be measured by money-getting: the man who has conquered this money-lust will not be made unhappy because his income is such that he cannot take short pleasure-trips to Europe, or own the finest make of car in the country.

Root has that religious sense which many of us

feel dimly in the dawning and cannot find any longer in the stained-glass-window churches of our childhood; and yet—

> Still we who follow Christ in deed
> Must break the bread and spill the wine:
> * * * * *
> Our bodies broken for the truth
> By mobs or Pharisees of State
> Must be the bread which Liberty
> Feeds on, and lives, and waxes great.

This is the essence of primitive Christianity, the confession of one who acknowledges his freedom of soul and mind from the machine-made God of "Pharisees of State." To Root, religion is an unending ride of the soul speeding through life, feeling within him "all the tempests wake," and wake to "shatter the petty calm that dulls our days."

With this divine knowledge of the dark yet splendid self, or soul, which lives in the body as in a cave, the poet knows that he can work miracles; from knowledge of self and soul grows courage, and urged by courage one dares to "mount bareback on Eternity."

Especially now, when the stress of materialism has become an agonized confusion and the old-world morality is slowly burning out in the fumes of smoke that will eventually leave the air purer, we need an awakener who can plant winged seeds of a new God-knowledge in the sterile heart of a perishing humanity. We feel in Root's work that the seed has sprouted into a plant: and the plant is growing into a blossoming bush, and finally the bush will grow into a fruit-bearing tree whose roots grip the earth and whose branches reach the Cosmic Christ where

> He plays with the stars for his shining pebbles
> Like a lonely child on the ocean's verge:
> Yet he is the Lord of all good rebels,
> Who leads the suns in a golden surge.
> * * * * * *
> Such is He. And we who serve Him,
> His proud and humble chivalry,
> Know that no death nor might shall swerve Him
> From the triumph of endless tragedy.

Engaged like a hermit in life-long contemplation, Root can afford not to define God; he was born with a consciousness of God in his heart, and longs for a brotherhood on earth where this consciousness can find an echo that will bring him an acknowledgment that man is not separated but united on the lonely road of religious experience. Root accepts poetic form, yet one must always read his poetry for content's sake first. The great unreality of modern poetry, our great criticism of it, is its aimless search for verbal originality, rather than the vital and profound significance of meaning. The emptiness of modern poetry is not its formlessness, but its verbal slavery. But Root seeks not for the verbal: he seeks the vital.

Root is termed by some of his contemporaries a rebel-poet. Rebel, yes, but one who has that mysterious quality of the visionary which carries him through life on a tension of half strength, half anguish, but never weakness. He recreates the outward beauty of things with the lightning-like shimmer of the inward vision. The sad, weary dullness of man-made existence seems to close over us gray as ashes and bitter as gall, but the great cosmic winds blow through our senses from a poet like Root who promises a resurrection-day for the crucified God-man.

Root, as he is possessed by an intense unorthodox religious faith, has increased his sensibilities and sensitiveness almost to a fear of life. This he has expressed in a haunting and tragic sonnet:

> The years like blood-hounds bay upon my track;
> And there's no brook in all the world where I
> May wade, and so elude the bruit and cry
> Of Time's great hunt.

So we find Root a poet always expressing the supersensitive timidity of a Psyche hovering above the leaning steel and stone towers of a superficial and man-made world. The real world, to one like Root, is not a museum of inanimate things, but the activity of a mystical mind feeling by intuition the truths which come to him in the fullness of divination. And when injustice spreads her wild-fire, and human liberty is at the stake, Root can be a revengeful David who without armor or sword faces the mighty Goliath of today and hits him in the forehead every time he lifts his sling.

It is not difficult to illustrate Root's sublime and courageous fight for his fellowmen trapped in the unconquerable machinery of law and politics. There is something epic, heroic, that Root has expressed in the following sonnet:

> I love the forests of the lightnings, where
> White-hot and terrible trees with purple boughs
> Shake down the rain, like wild leaves, thru the air
> And then fall crashing on the mountain's brows.
> The storm without me is the storm within:
> The lightnings make white forests in my soul:
> Within my spirit roars earth's stress and din,
> Within my mind the mightier thunders roll.
> Fall, fall great livid sky-upholding trees!
> Fall, fall and shatter all our human world!
> Fall like doom's conscious Caryatides
> And let high heaven to deep hell be hurled!
> Crush man, the angel with the maggot's brain:
> Crush man, the idiot-ape, the spawn of Cain!

There is always the inwardly tragic in Root's poems, the cosmic, unlimited religious vision that sees in Nature, in Humanity, the whole living force bound together by a spiritual unity so alien to the passion of the average American for joining this or that sect or set in order to worship something they think must be "God," that the ideal and the real become tragedy. . . . To Root, all this pathetic herd-conformity of men is "The bars they cannot break."

The one American who can be truthfully compared with Root is Henry David Thoreau. Both find the outlines of sanity in isolated country life; both feel Nature as a temple of aspiration—a refuge where they may wait armed with inward strength to come forth and fight for the liberation of the human soul when the powers of darkness seem to be overwhelming.

After the many battles, we find the poet, the mystic-rebel seeking his monastic yet pagan-rich life again in the green solitudes of the woods where:

> I must seek refuge in earth's farthest nook.
> There I will hide me from men's cruel faces;
> There I will cross the respite of a brook.
> Beyond that homely Lethe I will wade
> And lie—a spent fawn—panting, safe, afraid.

It is the world-soul that Root is aware of in his moments of profound meditation. Such is the fate of those who live in the Kingdom of Heaven and in houses not made with hands. Such was the fate of Socrates, Buddha, and Christ, and such is the fate of all who are born to follow their footsteps.

RUDOLPH GILBERT.

The Boston Community Church at Ten Years

Report at the 10th Anniversary Banquet held at the Twentieth Century Club, Boston, January 4, 1930.

Before beginning this brief review of the outstanding events in the history of the Boston Community Church, it seems advisable to tell a little of its background and the influences which led to its organization.

The years 1918-19, immediately following the Great War, were to many a period of spiritual restlessness and disillusion. It seemed that civilization had broken down and that the Churches, above all, had for the most part failed to meet the test that the war had brought them. At the same time, there was never a greater need of religion. The world was full of national and racial animosities—it appeared that only the birth of a new spirit could save it from a still greater and more complete catastrophe.

Here in Boston an organization which had commanded the loyalty of religious liberals for many years was the Free Religious Association. Formed in 1867 and counting Ralph Waldo Emerson among its charter members, the Free Religious Association had had a distinguished history. At the time of the war, its President was our friend, John Haynes Holmes, and it held a number of splendid meetings. But it had begun to disintegrate; and it was out of the need of some similar organization to take its place that the Community Church was born.

Early in the year 1919, Mr. Holmes severed his connection with the Unitarian Ministerial Fellowship and, with the consent of his people, transformed the Church of the Messiah, of which he had been minister for twelve years, into the Community Church of New York. In April, he preached several sermons on "The Community Church: Its Principles and Organization" and thus became one of the leading exponents of the movement. It was therefore natural that those who regretted the passing of the Free Religious Association and had come to know Mr. Holmes as its head, should turn to him at this time in regard to the possibility of a Community Church here in Boston built on similar lines as his own.

Much correspondence and many conferences followed and the result was that a call for a meeting was sent out in the Fall of 1919, signed by Mrs. Eleanor Wood Whitman, Mr. Skinner and Mr. William Lloyd Garrison. The meeting was held—only a small number were present but there was sufficient interest to warrant the carrying out of our plans and on December 5th, a letter signed by Mr. Skinner and announcing a series of experimental services at Steinert Hall, was mailed to a list of liberals.

On January 11, 1920, the first service was held. Mr. Holmes spoke on "The Character and Meaning of the Community Church Movement." Mr. Skinner and Mr. Randall were the speakers on the following Sundays and in the succeeding weeks such men as Bishop Paul Jones, Norman Thomas, Frank Oliver Hall and others were heard. The attendance varied from 60 or 70 on some stormy mornings to four or five hundred on the days when Mr. Holmes was with us. Each service was opened with music by Mr. John Orth and a forum period followed. Although we closed the season with a slight deficit, we felt sufficiently encouraged to continue and to organize as a Church in the Fall.

Our organization meeting took place on October 31, 1920, at the close of the service. Mr. Skinner was elected Chairman, Mr. Elbert W. Whippen, treasurer, and I was made Secretary. Among the directors elected were Mrs. Roland M. Baker, who has, happily for us, continued to serve to this day, Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Arthur Shurtleff. Our faculty of ministers was to be Mr. Holmes, Mr. Randall, Mr. George Willis Cooke, Mr. Skinner and Mr. Whippen. A Statement of Purpose was adopted, later strengthened and revised and finally accepted by the membership as the Statement of Purpose of the Community Church.

During the following winter, the interest in the Church steadily increased. It was at this time that Mrs. Baker and Mrs. Symonds commenced to play for us and it is due to them wholly that the music at the Church has always been of such a high order. At the Annual Meeting on April 30, 1921, the Secretary's report shows an average attendance of 175 and a membership of 206. At that meeting, it was voted to rent an office and engage a secretary on a regular paid basis which was done and in the Fall we took two rooms at 31 Mt. Vernon St., the Church occupying one and the League for Democratic Control the other. The present Secretary was engaged and has continued to serve ever since.

The next important event was the incorporation of the Church which took place on April 12, 1922. A set of by-laws was drafted and the Church received its charter and was thus established on a permanent legal basis.

In October, 1922, the Community Church, in cooperation with other organizations, changed its headquarters to a pleasant suite of rooms at 16 Carver St., just a few doors from Steinert Hall. This was a fortunate move both in regard to location and because of the added space for small meetings and suppers and we continued to stay here until the Fall of 1925 when we moved to our present home at 6 Byron St. This has been the happiest change of all because besides providing us with a very attractive hall for our meetings, the additional office space has made it possible for a number of congenial organizations to carry on their work there which has meant the development of a very live centre of liberal activity.

At the Annual Meeting in the Spring of 1924, there was serious discussion in regard to a larger hall for our services. Our attendance had been growing—on some occasions when Mr. Holmes, Rabbi Wise, Scott Nearing and James Harvey Robinson had ad-

[Editor's Note.—The Boston Community Church, founded ten years ago this month, is one of the great and significant religious phenomena of our time. More than any other institution of which we chance to know, it points the way to the church of the future in this country. This report of ten years should be of interest to our readers.]

dressed us, the hall was full to over-flowing—and it was felt that a change was desirable. So in the Fall of that year, we moved to the Copley Theatre where the auditorium seats 1000, almost double that of Steinert Hall.

In February of that year, actuated by a desire to get in touch with other Community Churches and if possible to become a part of the Community Church movement in this country, we arranged a Regional Conference of Community Churches. The meetings were held in the Church of the New Jerusalem on Bowdoin St. and continued for two days. Delegates representing churches in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Massachusetts attended. The chief values of the Conference were the fine spirit of tolerance and sympathetic understanding which pervaded the discussion and the splendid publicity given the proceedings by the press. It might be added that since that time, the Community Church movement seems to have turned more and more in an Evangelical direction so that it has little in common with the New York and Boston Churches beyond the sinking of denominational barriers. Our Church, however, contributes annually to both the State and National organizations of Community Churches and is listed among them.

For two years, the Community Church held its services at the Copley Theatre. During the first four months of 1926, the addresses were broadcast by WBZ and the reactions that came to us by letter from all over New England were very interesting. We felt that the theatre was an improvement on Steinert Hall and yet it had its draw-backs. It jarred on the sensibilities of our ministers never to be sure of what their background might be when they arrived on a Sunday morning as it varied from bedroom interiors to forest jungles! So that when in the Fall of 1925, word came to us that Symphony Hall would be glad to have us hold our services there while the suggestion took our breath away, it found us in a receptive mood.

The matter was thrashed out, as most of you will remember, during a number of meetings throughout the Winter and Spring. We had not been filling the Copley Theatre so that the idea of moving to a hall nearly three times its size seemed almost fool-hardy to many of us. But Mr. Skinner had seen the vision and it was his faith that carried the venture through, aided by a wonderful $2500 anonymous pledge from one of our members to be paid annually for three years, and by generous pledges from others.

Our first service in Symphony Hall was held October 3rd, 1926. Mr. Holmes spoke and I imagine that none of those who were present will ever forget the thrill of that morning. To wander round those spacious corridors and to realize that this was to be our meeting place—to see the people pouring in and filling up the floor and the balconies—to hear the notes of the organ —it was truly an exciting experience. The attendance was 1800 that opening day and we felt that we had arrived.

Since then, we have had our ups and downs. Our attendance rose to its highest peak during the second year and fell somewhat during the last season. This year, however, the trend seems again to be upward. Because of the high rental and the increasingly large fees demanded by speakers, the financial strain is great but thus far it has been successfully met, thanks to the loyal support of our members and friends.

It would take far too long to list the speakers that have addressed the Church during the ten years of its existence. But it is truthful to say that we have heard many of the most distinguished spiritual and intellectual leaders of our time of whom perhaps the most outstanding was Maude Royden.

Besides the Sunday services, the Church has carried on educational work through week-day lectures. Mr. Randall, Mr. Holmes, and Norman Angell have all given us successful courses while we have had splendid meetings for such notable personalities as Countess Karolyi, Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, Angelo Patri, Bertrand Russell, Count Keyserling, Dr. Alfred Adler and many others. In addition to lectures we have always had regular supper conferences and socials in the effort to promote a closer acquaintanceship among our members who live in such widely separated communities.

No Church is complete without a young people's group and in 1923, the first young people's organization was formed. It was called Today's Club and it held regular suppers with informal discussion. Since moving to Symphony Hall this group has grown, has taken the name of Community Youth and is now an official branch of the Church. Meetings are held on alternating Sunday afternoons at 6 Byron St. with an attendance that sometimes reaches 200.

In order to translate into concrete action the social idealism to which the Community Church is dedicated, the Social Justice Committee of the Church was formed in 1926 with Mrs. Glendower Evans as its Chairman. This committee has given its support to social legislation, to the movement to abolish the death penalty and to aid in several industrial crises.

Its chief work, however, was in regard to the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The Community Church took an interest in the case from the beginning, holding a meeting three months after the trial in 1921 at which Mrs. Lois Rantoul and some of the witnesses spoke. From 1926 until the summer of 1927 through the Social Justice Committee, literature on the case was circulated and on April 10, the day after sentence was pronounced, Prof. William E. Hocking of Harvard made a notable statement at the Church at the close of the service. Now that it is all over and recent revelations confirm our faith in the innocence of these two men, it must make us more and more glad of the stand our Church took and more and more appreciative of Mrs. Evans' unfaltering efforts in their behalf.

As we look back over the past ten years, although much has been left undone and there are many problems yet to be solved, we must feel, on the whole, that we have cause for congratulation. Our increase in attendance from 9278 during the years 1920-21 to 43,845 during 1927-28, is in itself a remarkable achievement. Our platform has been free and fearless—we number among our congregation people of many classes, races and creeds—we have done our bit for forward-looking causes and have lent a hand to unpopular ones —our services have brought intellectual stimulus and spiritual inspiration to hundreds of men and women. Let us acknowledge once again our deep indebtedness to our leaders for their loyalty and devotion and our trust that the year 1940 will find the Community Church still under their guidance and still marching on.

GERTRUDE L. WINSLOW.

The Study Table

An Imperialist View of India

Very soon the question of India will loom large on the political horizon of Great Britain. A crisis of considerable dimensions threatens.

For this reason books on India are likely to be plentiful during the next few months. Retired Indian Civil Servants are already busy. Sir Reginald Craddock, who has served as an administrator in India for nearly 40 years, has written a book* which probably sums up very fairly the point of view of the old school of Civil Servant, and of the sincere Imperialist. I think the best indication of the nature of this book will be found in the following passage:

> We have now to see how, with an Indo-British Dominion as a peak in the distance guiding our direction, we may still pursue the policy announced by Mr. Montagu and yet save a breach in the great trust. That trust was committed to us by Providence, history, or fate. . . . I think most Christian people will prefer to regard it as a task committed to our nation by a Divine Providence, and I know that large numbers of Indians hold that view.

Precisely because this view is widely held in certain fairly large sections of the British public, it is necessary to try and see India through their eyes, in order to know with greater certainty that our views on the next steps to be taken on the Indian question are right.

According to Sir Reginald Craddock, India is a conglomeration of races and religions, which in some cases are further divided up by castes and sects of the most rigid order, unbridgeable gulfs often separating them. In addition to the fierce antagonism which finds vent from time to time between communities like the Mohammedans and the Hindus, caste jealousies are rampant, while the fear of the lower castes lest the higher castes should gain political power is so widespread, that even to talk of a united India should India be permitted to try and stand on her own legs, is to show an appalling ignorance of the Indian situation. According to this view India is honeycombed with factions which are held in check solely by the fact of British domination. Take away British control and such unity as India is at present capable of, such peace and contentment as now exist, will vanish. At once these slumbering factions would become active, would fly loose as it were, whence all the good accomplished by the painstaking British administration would vanish like mist before the sun.

Let me quote Sir Reginald:

> And all these things depend on education, and education depends on financial resources, and financial resources depend upon unity, and unity depends upon the British Raj.

> While we governed we united. Since we began to relax our governing we are dividing; if we cease to govern the numberless fragments that we have pieced together will fly apart.

One cannot read through these pages without realizing that the author has a very poor opinion of the Indian people. He is always careful to reserve an infinitesimal minority of whom he speaks highly, but as for the great majority of the nation, the masses are steeped in ignorance and superstition, while the intelligentsia are for the most part a self-seeking and irresponsible crowd. I think that is a fair summing up of Sir Reginald's view, he says:

> There is no public conscience. Public conscience is defective even amongst the most developed peoples—how can it be expected among the masses of India? And yet without a strong degree of public conscience responsible self-government becomes a mere farce.

> The attempt to stir millions of ignorant men out of their contentment, however pathetic that might appear to the authors, was surely, at such a time, not the height of statesmanship, but the most reckless and dangerous policy that it is possible to conceive.

> To the Indian mind words are the supreme consideration. Whether facts correspond to the words is of no moment at all.

One may read through this book without discovering one trace of evidence that its author attaches any importance to the upheavals that have been taking place across the world during recent years. I fear Sir Reginald would have Britain play the role of King Canute, and bid the waves of progress, or shall we say, fundamental change, roll back, and thus leave India in peace. Those waves were allowed to roll forward in Russia and they produced an inferno; they are being allowed to roll forward in China, and perpetual chaos is the outcome; hence they must be held back in India or a like fate will befall. In Sir Reginald's view the Government has given way too much and too often already. This constant yielding to the clamant demand of irresponsible politicians promises to prove disastrous. It is still a mystery to Sir Reginald how Mr. Montagu got away with his Reform scheme, carried with him the Cabinet of the day, and Lords Chelmsford and Curzon.

What men of the type of Sir Reginald do not seem able to understand is that the impact of Western civilization upon the East, with all the financial power of that civilization, has not only awakened the East but taught it that unless it wakes up quickly and puts its house in order it will have fastened upon it a slavery more crippling and complete than any it now knows or has known; has taught it also that India possesses such resources as, properly utilized and worked, would make her one of the most prosperous countries in the world. As things are, India can only develop very slowly, and even then only as it suits British interests. India desires that her latent energies and her great resources shall be put to greater advantage, that they shall be freed. We must face the cold if unpalatable fact that we are neither freeing nor utilizing those latent energies as the occasion demands.

It may well be the case, as Sir Reginald says, that if India gets Home Rule certain castes, like the Brahmins, say, will capture political power and use it for their own ends. But if this proves to be the case, they will only bring about their own downfall. Nor will they be the first privileged class to use political power in order to strengthen their own financial and social position. The rise and growth of the Labor and Socialist parties all over the world is an abundant proof of that fact. But surely, once you free a nation, allow it to shape its own destiny, it will adopt its own methods of getting rid of obstacles. Whereas to regard a freed India, as Sir Reginald does, as a volcano which can only be prevented from deluging the country with ruin by a foreign power sitting on it, is to preach a

*The Dilemma in India. By Sir Reginald Craddock, G. C. I. E. K. C. S. I. Published by Constable & Co., Ltd., London. 15/—.

doctrine of despair. The Montagu Reforms, according to this view, were a huge mistake, and Britain must remain in India, apparently, for another century or more.

Thus to lament, as Sir Reginald does, the introduction of such disturbing elements as the political agitation of the Home Rulers because it threatens the tranquility of the villager, with his little field and his cow, his religious ceremonies, and his secure if narrow niche in the caste system, is to lament the fact of change and growth. He says:

> This huge peasantry are contented with their lot, so long as they have their beloved land, their house in the village, their cattle, and the small pursuits and excitements of their gala days Are we correct in calling their contentment pathetic? Is there anything we can do to make them really happier?

The only real discipline that India has maintained is the discipline of caste. If you really could create genuine democracy in India it would destroy caste. If it destroyed caste it would destroy Hinduism, and if it destroyed Hinduism it would destroy India, at least the India that has existed for so many thousands of years. Hinduism is the soul of India. And it may not be the Christ that would replace Krishna. It might even conceivably be the Bolshevist anti-Christ. that would step into the vacancy—*sans* faith, *sans* hope, *sans* love, *sans* everything. Far, far better that they should remain good Hindus than become rampant atheists! And the theorist thinks that the ballot box will solve this problem too!

Sir Reginald is up against the Life-Force itself, and indeed of all the creative movements operating in the world today. He fails to realize that India is in the grip of forces which she and we together are powerless to destroy.

WILFRED WELLOCK, M. P.

All About Human Beings

The author of this book is an Irishman. He happens to have lived in England until not so very long ago. And these two circumstances would seem to explain much that is in his book. But when one stops to consider that the author spends most of his time in editing *The Standard,* which is in the way of being an erudite journal of ethics, some of the whimsical quality in the book seems a little hard to explain. But then it is a curious quality of the British race that, between the labors of producing recondite books, their *viri doctissimi* have almost human moments. Lewis Carroll was a mathematician in Holy Orders named Dodgson. The editor of the *Hibbert Journal* writes most entertainingly of Smokeover, wherever that may be. And, if Principal Jacks can rest from his labors on philosophy to discourse of this and that, why should not the editor of the *Standard?*

"Some Human Contacts"* is well named; it is all about human beings. Consider some of them, if you please. First consider the most unusual forum which met at the London home of O'Dell's father in the gay nineties. It was a most amazingly democratic forum. A stray lord, all manner of celebrities, some ordinary mortals, and a delegation from the backstairs regions headed by a most impressive butler, met to reason together about the welfare of the universe, or whatever topic came to hand. Even a stray American came, and, *mirabile dictu,* he behaved himself. Taken all in all, there is nothing quite like that forum within the memory of man—or at least within the memory of this reviewer.

Or, if you like, you can go with O'Dell to the north of England, where without very much training, but a great deal of courage, he undertakes to edit a country newspaper in the interest of the Labor candidate. That was in the day when the Machine Age was not a phrase which is bandied about, and a Yorkshire or Lancashire accent had not begun to yield to the importunities of the radio announcer. So you are given the chance to meet some North country people as they are: the pompous Mayor, the newspaper staff, the man who bore up so bravely under the ordeal of the trial and execution of his son. . . . There one gets glimpses of people as they are.

Perhaps you would prefer to share some of O'Dell's experiences on this side of the Atlantic. He gives you a glimpse of a cultured, urbane Anglican parson in California, who almost persuaded him to be a Christian—preferably one of an Episcopalian turn. Then there are the trials of becoming a citizen; it is necessary to remove one's glove to take the oath of allegiance to the Government. You can, if you choose, become acquainted with the lady of quality who, through financial straits, found it necessary for a while to be O'Dell's secretary. Are you interested in hospitals? Then you might meet a choice collection of undergraduate nurses; and if they seem too aristocratic, there are the orderly and tiny charwoman to interest you.

In a day when our literary fodder is composed, for the most part, of Freud, the debunking process, and ultra-realistic war material containing a greater or lesser degree of fact or fiction, it is refreshing to make a few "Human Contacts." George O'Dell has done something quite genuine for us in this little garland: he has written a really friendly book.

ALFRED ARTYN GROSS.

*"Some Human Contacts," by George E. O'Dell. New York, The International Press. $2.50.

Correspondence

Drop the Church!

Editor of UNITY: I am glad that UNITY continues its discussion concerning the *isness* of the church. If there is any good and sufficient reason for its perpetuation, let's have it stated convincingly. But I, for one, cannot find any place in my daily life for its ministrations. We have need of art, literature, science, invention and the drama and music. We have need of man-to-man fellowship and cooperation. We have need of the spirit of love in all human contacts and transactions. But all this we can have fully and freely without "the benefit of clergy."

I would drop the church completely out of human life. I would not offer any substitute. The time, energy, brains and money used in trying to keep churches alive I would have employed upon strictly educational lines—meaning by education the development of the power to think. As human beings become more truly thoughtful their relations to one another will become wiser, kinder and more beautiful. "Peace on earth and good-will to man" is on its way. Human brotherhood is on its way thanks to the growth of human understanding and the strength and courage of honest-hearted thinkers.

As to the church and religion they are superfluous. The human mind is a beautiful plant that will grow and blossom under strictly natural conditions. When I want my garden of roses I look to the soil and its condition—I do not say prayers or read to the plants from a text-book on botany.

VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

Crawford, Colorado.

The Field

"The world is my country,
to do good is my Religion."

To Robert Burns

[Born, January 25, 1759]
O Rabbie Burns, ye muckle mon!
Your memr'y brings us a' together
An' so we come to honor thee,
In spite o' wind and weather.

While burns go singing doon the glens,
An' lochs are sleeping glazie;
We'll nae forget your bonnie words,
Na spare our ain, to praise thee.
GEORGE LINNAEUS THOMPSON.

THE DOMINICAN PRESS ON HAITI

Paraphrase in translation of a letter from Georges Sejourné and Maurice Laudun, Haitians, to *La Opinion*, and other newspapers of the Dominican Republic:

"With the help of martial law, the Americans seek to impede every manifestation of the national soul. Their means are intimidation, imprisonment, extermination. In the disarmed city of Port-au-Prince, the situation is 'lamentable', American cables say; but from private letters we know it to be *horrible* . . . that is the way they express it. All the streets in Port-au-Prince are occupied by American patrols, who are armed with machine guns.

"In front of the Presidential Palace and in the public squares, the Americans have established encampments, manned by soldiers of the U. S. Marine Corps, and also equipped with machine guns. It is to be noted that thus far not a single shot has been fired by the Haitian residents of Port-au-Prince. This action of the Americans is intended as a provocation to enable the soldiers to exterminate these Negroes whom they hate so much, and to fire on a disarmed population as though they were receiving instructions in marksmanship.

"The Americans have taken advantage of this opportunity, when there is no force to oppose them, to put in prison all of the important leaders among the Haitians. Jacques Roumain and G. Petit are among the editors who have been arrested. This Jacques Roumain is a grandson of the great Roumain who played such an important role in the second Dominican struggle for independence. Other editors have been arrested in Cape Haitian, Port-au-Prince and Jacmel, but the American censorship has withheld their names. Mr. Schiller Nicholas, who was president of the organization of professors which went on strike, has also been imprisoned, but his compatriots in Jacmel have seized the American collector of customs at Jacmel, and have resolved not to restore him to liberty until Mr. Nicholas has been set free by the Americans.

"The Americans themselves admit that there have been dead and wounded in Haiti in the region of Aux Cayes, and American cables say that 'the troop of protesting natives, armed with machetes and sticks, hurled themselves on the machine guns of the American marines.' Let us salute these heroes! The Americans have proceeded to summary executions in some Haitian towns, principally in Ounnamenthe.

"All these crimes have no excuse. What have the Americans to do with Haitian territory?

"Some years ago, while executing a mandate authorized by the League of Nations, the French High Commissioner (the title corresponds to that given Brigadier John H. Russell in Haiti, but not the authority) was confronted by the armed revolt of a population having rifles and modern instruments of war. He took severe measures of repression. The first voice to cry out in the name of humanity against the oppression of a weak nation by a great Power was that of the United States Government, and France was obliged to recall its High Commissioner.

"Today in their official cables, the Americans confess that American troops, with their modern rifles and machine guns, busied themselves in Aux Cayes in Haiti with the extermination of protesting natives, who carried only machetes and sticks. Private letters from trustworthy persons also tell us that three American airplanes threw bombs into this unarmed crowd of Haitians. In the case of the French, there was an imperative mandate from the League of Nations. In the case of the Americans there is no mandate of any kind, and their presence in Haiti, where they have established themselves, constitutes a state of war, and against an unarmed native population.

"The Department of State of the United States itself declares that martial law has been proclaimed in Haiti by the American Colonel Cutts. In the same note, Secretary of State Stimson tells the American Congress that 'Haiti is a sovereign state,' and that 'there is a President in Haiti.' If there were really a Republic of Haiti, if a sovereign state of Haiti existed, and a President of the Republic of Haiti, how could an American Colonel decree martial law in a sovereign state? This decree would evolve from the President of Haiti, and in virtue of the Constitution of Haiti, this decree would have to be countersigned by all the heads of the Government departments, and would then be submitted to the legislative body. But this legislative body has not existed in Haiti since the month of April, 1917!"

Messrs. Laudun and Sejourné then quote, in part, Col. Cutts' proclamation, and charge that the Americans are today. the only power in Haiti, that Haitian tribunals have been suppressed, and that the lives and possessions of the Haitians have been abandoned "to the caprices of American officers, drawn from the enlisted men

The United States and Haiti

Editor of UNITY: I note the editorials about the Briand-Kellogg Treaty and the "Jotting" about Russia and Haiti (December 23 issue). Since reading these I have seen elsewhere that a change has taken place in the attitude of the administration to the extent of President Hoover's stopping the marines who had been dispatched to Haiti. It certainly seems desirable that some move should take place in our part of the earth to indicate that the above mentioned treaty covers the Americas as well as Asia. Some time ago I noticed this item in Longergan's column of comment in *Labor*, Washington, D. C.: "Brazil and Argentina refuse to ratify the Kellogg Peace Treaty, and *La Prensa*, the leading paper of Buenos Aires, gives this crystal-clear explanation:

"It is impossible to have any confidence in these ardent declarations in favor of peace and respect for international law as long as we know the law to be set aside when American capitalists seek the protection of their government for their invasion of Latin-American countries.

"'Or as long as we are certain that without any declaration of war, troops will be sent against the patriots of any small republic who resist American invasion, and that in all future official communications these patriots will be classified as bandits.'

"Unfortunately, this scathing criticism of our 'Dollar Diplomacy' is sustained by the facts. We are inviting the hatred of all Latin-America in order that a few greedy bankers may make some money. It is an extremely foolish policy."

It is evident that the present administration cannot go too far in acting as though the Briand-Kellogg Treaty actually applies to the Americas.

Phoenix, Ariz. VAUGHN BACHMAN BROKAW.

An Omission

Editor of UNITY: I am quite surprised and rather grieved that in your list of famous dead (UNITY December 30) you did not include our friend, William Sloane Kennedy—a great Shakespearean scholar and authority, a writer of many books, notably lives of poets (Emerson, etc.), a lifelong friend of Walt Whitman and John Burroughs, an authority on birds and flowers of both America and Europe. Mr. Kennedy died last August, tragically drowned on August 4th while taking his daily early morning plunge, aged 79 years. His latest book was on Walt Whitman and found much favorable criticism. While in Italy in 1927, Mr. Kennedy got out "Italy in Chains," denouncing Mussolini.

Mr. Kennedy was a *character*, but a big man. He built his own chimney and fireplace in the little cottage he bought here, did his own cooking, was a vegetarian.

The New York *Times* contained an editorial on his death. His valuable library he left principally to Rollins College, some books to Harvard, and some to the Boston Public Library. I am sorry you did not know him.

West Yarmouth, Mass. FLORENCE F. CROWELL.

of the U. S. Marine Corps, most of whom have never passed through any military school, and possess only a primary education, and who are totally ignorant of Haitian law."

With these "hirelings and improvised judges," they say, despite the appearance of a pseudo native government, it is the Government of the United States which administers and directs; and as a logical consequence, the crimes which are committed against the people of Haiti are those of a Great Power against a weak and disarmed people; hence it becomes the obligation of the League of Nations, and of civilization, to regulate without loss of time the Haitian situation, "so as not to permit a continuance of cowardly assassination of unhappy, defenseless beings."

Listin Diario, a highly important newspaper of Santo Domingo City, contains a lengthy account of the dispersal of a crowd of protesting students in Cape Haitian by a bayonet charge, and tells of the destruction of cameras belonging to those who had photographed the scene, blaming the disorders on Lieutenants Sylvester, Gray and Latour, U. S. M. C., who appear to have been in command of the troops. The League of Nations is called upon to interfere in this article, also.

This, and similar publications in the Dominican Republic, all of which, in view of the American censorship and the suspension of the Haitian newspapers, appear to be accepted at their face value, had the effect of inflaming the student organizations, which are passing condemnatory resolutions, and inviting the cooperation of students in other Latin American republics.

The University Students of the Dominican Republic have sent the following cable to the President of the United States:

"Evocamos ante vos el sacro recuerdo de Jorge Washington para pediros respetuosamente vuestro decidido empeno porque ceso en absoluto Ocupacion Haiti."

Thus, out of a student's strike, due to the tactlessness of Dr. Freeman, director of the Agricultural School in Haiti, has grown the scandalous crisis, already accompanied by bloodshed, which threatens to involve the United States with the League of Nations.

FINDINGS OF BUFFALO CONFERENCE ON MARRIAGE AND HOME, NOV. 21-25

"We urge that a larger place be given in the curriculum of our church schools for teaching on marriage and the home, and commend the step taken by several of our denominations in providing for such instruction in the graded lesson material of religious education. We counsel the ministry of the church to conduct pastoral classes among their young people in preparation for home life, and classes for fathers and mothers in the field of parental education. We urge likewise a greater personal ministry to individuals, particularly in extending personal counsel to young couples who come to be married, so that hasty and unintelligent marriages may be prevented and well-considered marriages encouraged. . . . It is to be hoped that ultimately there will be established in every city a clinic on marriage and the home, in which there will be a staff consisting of a minister of religion, a psychiatrist, a physician and a social worker, who may render aid to any persons who may desire a consultation in regard to family plans and problems."

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Her Right to Freedom and a Place Among the Great Nations
By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND, M. A., D. D.

Pp. 556. 12 Illustrations. Price at Booksellers $4.00, by mail $4.10.
Lewis Copeland Co., Inc.
Publishers, 119 West 57th St.
New York, N. Y.

This book, just from the press in New York, was published a few months ago in India. The British Government, alarmed at its quick and great sale, suppressed it, and arrested its publishers. Practically all India answered by indignant protests. Mahatma Gandhi published an article in the book's defense, four columns in length.

No other word in our generation has been so universally acclaimed by the highest Indian authorities, as a true and just portrayal of India's civilization, life, and political conditions.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE the poet writes: "If Americans would know the true India, they cannot have a better guide than Dr. Sunderland. I regard his book as the best informed, most just and trustworthy that has come from any pen. A part of its high value is as an unanswerable reply to the misrepresentations in Miss Mayo's **Mother India.**"

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